113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

1: Lhote--1 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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# Book IV

## The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

## Social Organization

## The Ahaggar Confederation

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### Chapter 1

### Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we [184 177] say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Iha̍ggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/," L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal 545 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country"). [192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

643 According to the rules cited above, the political succession of an aménokal goes in the first degree to his brother; in the second degree, that is, if he has no brother, to his first cousin, the eldest son of his maternal aunt; and in the third degree, to the eldest son of his eldest sister. In fact, this is what comes out of the genealogical [114] study of the Ahaggar chiefs made by Mr. Benhazéra, (1) modifying

1. Six mois dans l'Ahaggar /Six Months in the Ahaggar/.

the order indicated by Duveyrier who attributed the succession to the eldest son of the eldest sister. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, p. 397.

For reasons we do not know, these rules have not always been followed. Thus, Aménokal Younès succeeded his /155/ father Mohamed el Khir, and Aménokal Ăitarel /succeeded/ his cousin El Khadj Akhmed, even though the latter had closer relatives. More recently, upon the death of Aménokal Akhamouk, his second cousin Meslah was named to replace him, although he had a first cousin, son of the sister of the former Aménokal Moussa ag Ămâstan, who was removed from command because of incompetence.

• 184 643 Among the Tenguériguif /Tehgeredief/, chiefs are chosen alternately from two lateral lines descended from the same chief, Ikhmed. Thus the deceased aménokal can never be succeeded by his brother, but by a second or third cousin, who is not necessarily taken from the uterine branch. The nomination of the aménokal is submitted to an assembly of notables for their approval, just as among the Ihăggaren.

Among the Ioullimmiden, since Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), out of fourteen chiefs who succeeded one another, we note six successions from father to son, two from brother to brother, two

184 643 [173] from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin. The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 611 631 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out, it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 651 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his [644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] [644] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/ today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 [534 177 192] The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum," "cylinder of a drum."

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 643 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Iḥaggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory [173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal Attarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Iḥaggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 643 692 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

565 [651] from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter [582] [641] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time refusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions. On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject [184] any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered [582] nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or [192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 565 793 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

565 631 793 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real authority over the Iḫaggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Iḟora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Iḫaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

[797] The influence of the Inislimen on the Iḫaggaren and the Kel Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Iḫaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 565 793 797 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tăḍemaket and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.

[648] While the marabout elements in the north were the first to become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 565 793 The cradle of the Iḟora was probably the ancient Berber capital, Tăḍemeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] [181] 701 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext, refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

184 565 793 [631] [595] The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg. They speak the same language and administer themselves with no intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization, which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 [192] [422] The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats." In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 565 144 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar, however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar, everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are [186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old [184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565 192 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga, a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 233 423 241 563 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate themselves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general- [582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Iḥaggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Iḥaggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 631 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were [643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an 651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous [567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they 461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

563 There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are
567 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives
[727] who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan
[192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with [751] whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the [837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

[726] Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and ● 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 436 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaŭa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[233] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

[241 Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
423] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

[281] The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-
[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious
323 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture,
531 pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dăg Răli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. It appears that the Kel Ăhnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of.

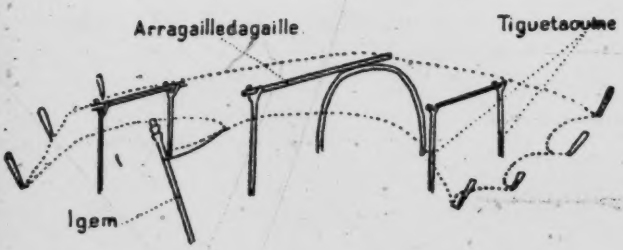


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth.

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents.

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily.

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

184 Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
343 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
423 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ifaman,
251 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
566 sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

1: Lhote--101 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these [411 648] weapons.

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

236 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons [184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/

## Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not 241 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the influence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

1: Lhote--107 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25



# Chapter 6

## Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the northern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg among the great herders.

[184]

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living conditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy. With these reservations, however, they have brought with them some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan.

[167]

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg. The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the Sahara could not support such flocks.

[184]

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

262
237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643] Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of 644 his family or to the notables of his camp.

[184] This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262 It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361
136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we 361 observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [804] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily 302 dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. [412] They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed [824] to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [503] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 279 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. * [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [887] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[826] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They [412] [531] [212] do not take any particular care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

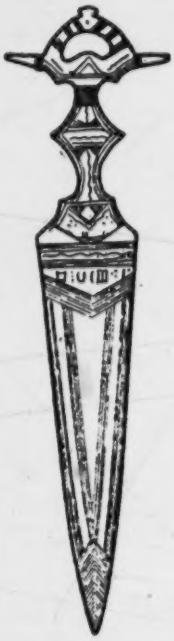

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

184 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
291 on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin snap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to ... disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihággaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

[184 556] The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

184 Although men's costume does not vary at all, or very little,
291 this is not the case for women's clothing. That worn by Ahaggar women is peculiar to that region, while Aïr or Ioullimmiden women dress in their own way.

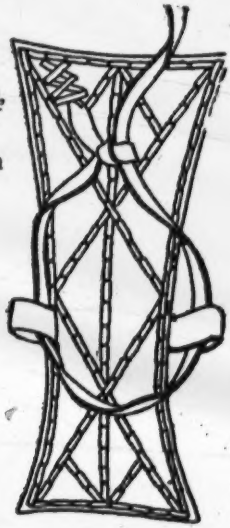

Fig. 39. An imerkéden, sandal made of skins sewed together and worn by Ahaggar mountaineers.

291 Tuareg women do not wear trousers but have a white cloth skirt wound around the loins. Ahaggar women wear over it a large white cloth blouse, similar in shape to that of the men, but closed
[556] on the sides. Well-to-do women wear a second blouse on top, made of indigo-dyed cloth.

184 In Aïr the blouse is replaced by a little bolero, and in
291 Ioullimmiden tribes women usually go bare chested or content themselves with a rectangular piece of material which they casually throw over their shoulders.

291 They do not veil their faces like the men. A little mantilla made of one or two toukourdi is worn wrapped around the head and

face to hide their features in front of strangers. During their moves, Ahaggar women use a big, broad-brimmed straw hat -- the téle -- to protect themselves from the sun. 291 [484]

/269/ They wear irratimen on their feet like the men, but more often they go barefoot. In the Sudan, during the rainy season, they replace the leather irratimen by very light wooden irratimen, which fulfill the same function there as wooden shoes do for us.

[184]

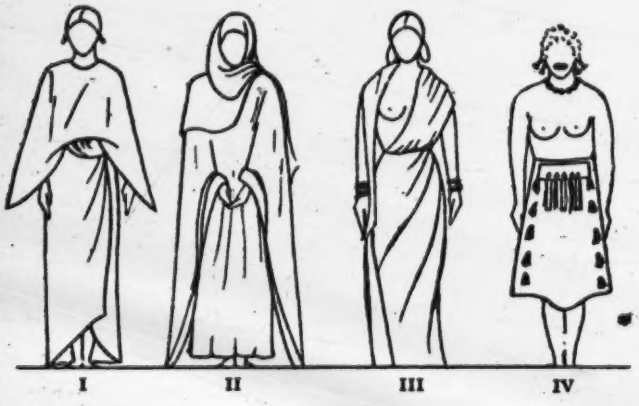


Fig. 40. Costume of Tuareg women.

1) Costume of Aïr Tuareg women, which includes a skirt and a little bolero.
2) Ahaggar Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a big gandurah reaching to the feet.
3) Sudanese Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a shawl around the shoulders.
4) Leather skirts for servant girls, in use in Ioullimmiden tribes.

In the Ahaggar and the Tassili, men and women wear a large white wool haik to wrap up the head and shoulders. During the cold period of winter they wrap up in a long woolen blanket (dokkali) made by the Arabs in Touat. The latter exchange them with the Ihaggaren for sheep. [439]

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782 tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or
[171] on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the
[853] child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are sometimes quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem somewhat reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are sometimes punished severely.

The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Air this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses [562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's [421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter [184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, [533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and 727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 562 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors. [648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

• 184 726 562 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their aménokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

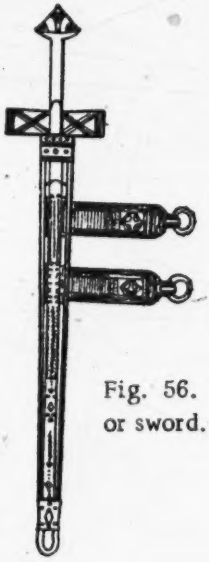

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket-books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs.

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword (tacouba), which is the weapon par excellence of the nobles; the iron lance (allar') carried by nobles and vassals; javelins with iron shoulder and point and wooden staff (tarda), which are set aside for vassals and slaves; and the forearm dagger (télak) provided with a leather ring so that it may be hung from the wrist. In the Sudan slaves also carry wooden clubs (tabouri), heavy branches with a knot at one end.

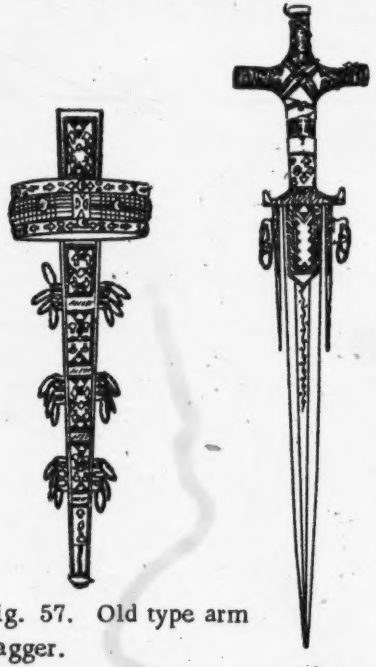

Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only one defensive weapon, the buckler (ahrer) which is made of oryx antelope skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕ⵉⵍⵎⵓⵙⵜ , or veil. The veil 291
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302]
head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ⴰⵙⴰⴷⴰ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" ⵉⵜⵍⵍⵉ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" ⵜⴰⴷⴱⴰⵏⴰⵜ , [184]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" ⵜⵉⵔⵣⵣⵎⵉⵏ .

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agriculturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amachey)* and "vassal Tuareg" *(Imrad,* sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 [778] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally [605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 614 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8) which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[p.102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual fee termed *sadaka*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaka fees were collected on behalf of the drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaka. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sada a.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaka animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeiet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of the Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amgar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

614 [361] 621 476 [596] [422] [613] 622 [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans. [Text continues on p. 108]

[184] [601] 602

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents.

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa.

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:–

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers.

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952a, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East-Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952a, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



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Fig. 12.–Tuareg skin tent in a river valley of the Ahaggar Mountains. The sheet of skin sewn together is placed over three parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar. The middle pair is higher than the outer pairs. It may be substituted with two equally high pairs of posts with crossbars, or with two arches. Tuareg skin tents have mats to be drawn round the tent under the sheet of skin, and in winter the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently erect stone walls for protection against cold winds, as shown on this photograph.

184 342 Hourst 1898, p.105ff., 133. – Gabus 1945, p. 361. – Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII–XXXIII p. 218. – Le Coeur 1937, p. 42f. – Urvoy 1942, p. 33f., pl. I).

[17] 342 Mat-covered arched huts or tents are found only among the Southern Tuareg, and as such dwellings are found among many of their Sudanese neighbours it might seem natural to consider them foreign to traditional Tuareg culture. However, the arched mat-covered tent of the Tuareg seems to be constructionally distinct from other barrel-vaulted dwellings. It consists of one to three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of two or three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. A number of very slender curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and to the horizontal crossbars (cf. fig. 13). An arched hut of the same type, although more elaborate and solid, is found in certain Kel Owi villages (fig. 13) as already mentioned p. 77, while the use of crossbars is apparently unknown to other peoples who have barrel-vaulted huts (*The Songai:* – Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165f. – Dubois 1897, p. 232f.; 171 342 1911, p. 33. – Gabus 1948, p. 10. – Olufsen 1928, p. 137. – Prost 1954, p. 184ff. – Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3. – Aymard 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; 1908, p. 183. – *The Fulani and*

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



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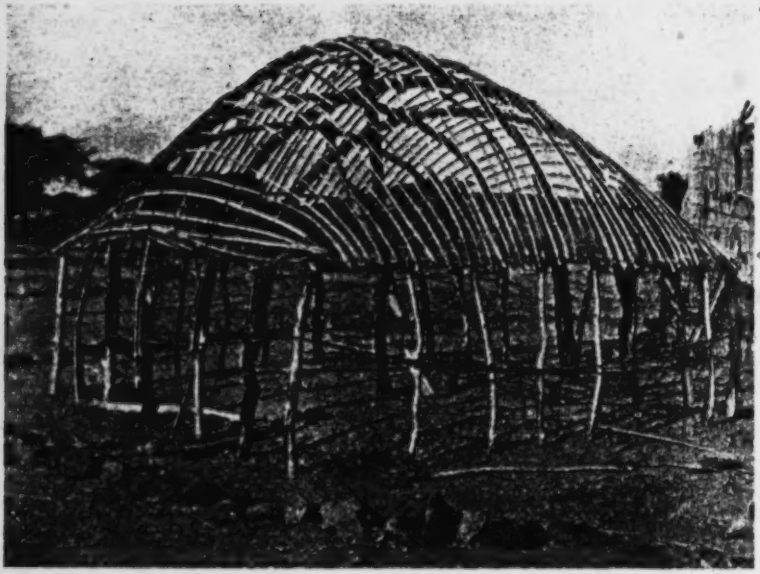

Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104).

184 342

[565]

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

174 233

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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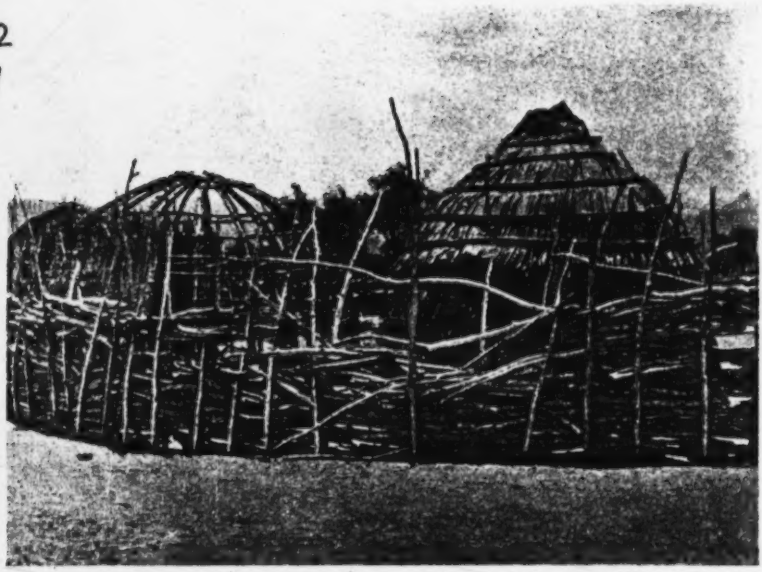

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to
[342] similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[565] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
● [184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[192] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amachey*). I have also

844 /119 cont./ advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Rela in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 853 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 751 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defenseless prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evis spells. On the subject of superstition, it

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[ The author makes very frequent cultural comparisons between the Northern Tuareg, especially the Kel Ahagger, and the Southern Tuareg, especially the Kel Air. Only a relatively small number of the more striking differences have been marked for category 184; for further information on this topic the full text should be consulted in category 116. ]

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545 619 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

*Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeṛen* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeṛen* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adraṛ* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Ifoṛas* of the *Kel Ajjer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut. [793]

*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 104 184 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinay*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tagerit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tetemakit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

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| Ahaggar | Ayr | Transcription and value in Arabic letters | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| yab | ab | b ب | |
| yach | ach | ch ش | |
| yad |  ad | d د | |
| yaḍ | | ḍ ض | Emphatic |
| yaf | af | f ف | |
| yag | ag | g | Hard |
| yaǧ | | ǧ | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and i |
| yah |  ah | h ه | Aspirated |
| yay |  ay | y (i) ى | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant |
| yaj | aj | j | |
| yak | ak | k ك | |
| yaḳ | aḳ | ḳ ق | |
| yakh | akh | kh خ | Foucauld 1951-53 has the transcription ḫ |
| yal | al | l ل | |
| yam |  am | m م | |
| yan |  an | n ن | |
| yañ | | ñ | |
| yaw |  aw | w (u) و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| yar |  ar | r ر | |
| yaṛ | aṛ | ṛ غ | Pronounced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in litterature |
| yas | as | s س | |
| yat | at | t ت | |
| yaṭ | | ṭ ط | Emphatic |
| | at' | t' | Palatized t |
|  yaz |  az | z ز | |
| yaẓ | | ẓ | Emphatic |

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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-trhil* tribe.

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have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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177 [191] [192] The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages. They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.

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The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

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13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

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end of the *akasa* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated.

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amewan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amesahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akasa*, *amewan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tabsit*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akasa*, or *amewan*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akus*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks

Fig. 18. The little stick (*akaru*, *asafru*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tekki* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

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Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akus*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [184] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarękkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Ağuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *atekkas* (*wa n akh*) or *ateklas* (*wa n tazek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

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Fig. 30. Young zebu ox with *ikembar*, that is cuts made with a knife on the bridge of the animal's nose, and with a cord (*asabar*) placed through the nostrils. Ayr, sedentary *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez.

(2) *tabellut*, that is a small pronged stick about 40 centimetres long placed through the nostrils of the calf which is thus prevented from reaching its mother's udder (Fig. 31). (3) *ikemban*, that is two small pointed sticks crossing each other and attached over the calf's nosebridge. When the calf tries to suck it hurts the udder of the mother cow which will kick the calf away. I have only seen this device once in Southern Ayr, and I am not quite sure that the term mentioned is correctly spelled, as I did not take it down in *tifinaɣ*. (4) *akimbab*, that is a muzzle. It is not in general use among the Ayr Tuareg though they know of it. It is in current use among the Tuareg of the plains west of the Massif (Tamesna) where I have seen it among the *Ireɣenaten* Tuareg, who politically belong to the *Kel Ɛela* drum-group of Ahaggar (Fig. 32). I have seen the same device also known as *akimbab* among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. Similar muzzles are used among the *Iwllemmeden* around Meneka (Musée de l'homme, nos. 36.44.50 & 41.19. 1111–1114) and also among the Tuareg of Adraɣ-n-Foɣas (Musée de Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.39). – These are the weaning devices used in Ayr, the method most commonly applied being that known as *tabellut*, the small pronged stick passed through the calf's nostrils.

234 Cow's milk is drunk fresh, added to food, or made into butter and cheese according to methods described in a later chapter. The Tuareg say that an extremely good milch-cow yields up to seven litres of milk a day. This agrees with Doutressoulle's statement that cows of the *Azawaɣ* breed yield six to eight litres daily at the beginning of their lactation period, while at the end of this period the daily

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yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period.

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen.

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135).

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellut*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661).

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*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *élakt*-saddle is [184] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *berej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Ajjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the [283] other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to [163] two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one [285] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-[564] cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elrerwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, [171] and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*akhamil* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading, and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

[text continues on p. 78]

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p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. Today true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddkeraren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoḍ* |

Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

(1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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[231]

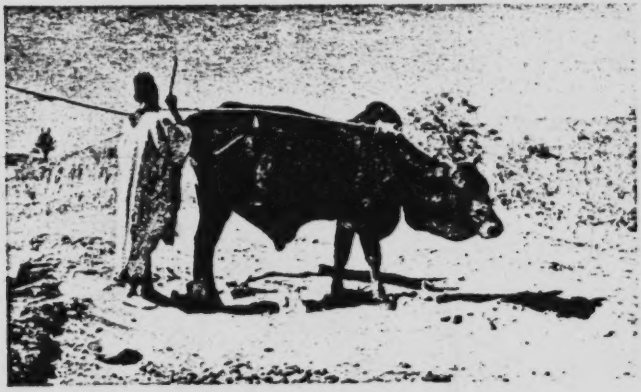

Fig. 132b. Cf. text Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Taṛhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar.

The *foggara* system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tunin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6–12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long.

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the *foggara* aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

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tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *rarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

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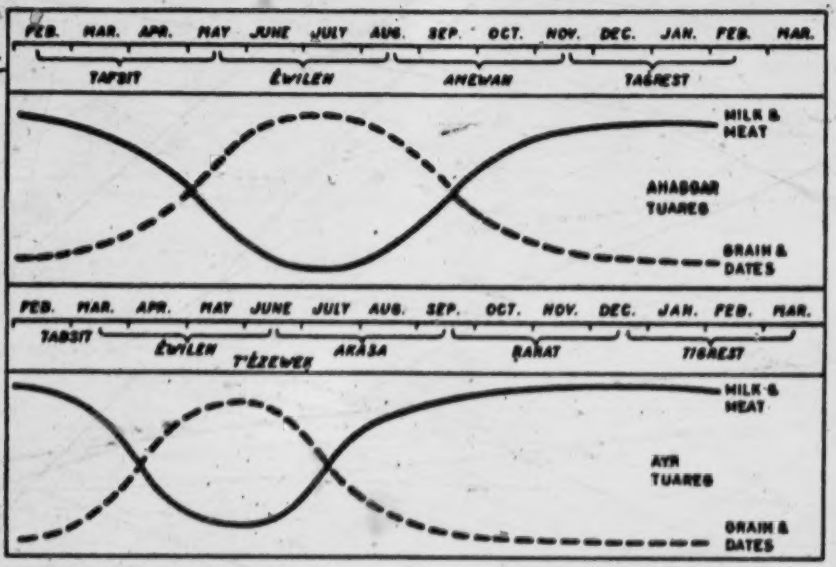


[511] [624] Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagallet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433 439 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 166 [184] We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

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1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Ajjer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antipathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Rat and Radames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821).

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isəkkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Taytoḳ*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Ajjer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group.

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading.

[text continues on p. 221]

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*assafra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Aḫaḫ-en-taM* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn mast butter from cow's

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
[262] mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
4/2 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adraɣ-n-Foɣas (Musée d'Ethnogra-
● 184 phie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[17] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awles*) is manufactured
[4/2] by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*idjirt*, or *ufrus*)
* [4/5] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*arugus*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Ed/yrt]

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Fig. 173. Tuareg skinning a ram. Ayr, the *Igwadèynen* tribe.

252 by placing the dough on a baking sheet. The other type of bread is generally known by the Arabic word *khubz*. This is baked from dough placed in the sand close to the fire, where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and glows. These two types of bread in Ahaggar are baked mainly by sedentary agri-
189 culturists and by Arab families. The type of bread traditionally baked by the Tuareg differs from Arab bread in that it is not made from proper dough, but from a kind of thin porridge or gruel consisting of flour mixed with water. This Tuareg type of bread is known as *tagrella* and is baked as follows:— A heavy fire is lit in a shallow depression (about 25–30 cms in diameter and 8–10 cms deep) made

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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the 262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed ● [189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *iberǧan* 252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez* [267] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for *415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

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by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akraḍal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tedeft n ejenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehki* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aǧum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenli*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*téḍabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Iǧdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *télé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Ḥarratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Miṣr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

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l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aɣlim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iṛatimen* (sing. *iṛatim*) which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *silsleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[Text continues on p. 300]

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never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tifedilt* (pl. *tifedillin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

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*342 houses in Ganet or elsewhere in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have been told that they exist in these regions to this day. Various types of subterranean dwellings are recorded as existing further north in the *342 Sahara and in the Atlas. Semi-dugouts roofed with brush are occasionally used among the Chamba 171 (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and it is interesting to note that subterranean dwellings also occur among the semi-nomadic Chawiya of Aurès, who use such dwellings only when they live with their flocks in the desert south of the mountain massif (cf. Rivière 1938). Elsewhere in Northern Africa they seem to be found exclusively among sedentary peoples. The main area of distribution is the Atlas, Tripolitania, the northern parts of the Western Sahara, and the Western Sudan (cf. Hefel 1946 & Le Moal 1960). Frobenius considered the subterranean dwelling a so-called "Hamitic" trait (Frobenius [174] 1933, p. 214 ff.). Recent investigations seem to indicate that this particular dwelling type was introduced to North Africa by contact with civilizations of the Western Mediterranean in pre-Christian times (cf. Hefel 1946).

*342 A.5. *Square or rectangular huts covered with plant material.*

The dwellings to be described under this item should perhaps be termed houses rather than huts as [184] they have walls and roof made separately. They fall into two sub-types one of which is characteristic of Ayr, the other of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The two types may be historically related, but this cannot be taken for granted, for constructionally they are somewhat different.

A.5.a. In Ayr the square or rectangular hut is called *téjira*, and is found mainly among sedentary people of the *Kel Ewey* group. It is never used by pastoralists. The structure of this hut can be described in the following way:—

Nine heavy and forked poles are fixed solidly in the ground in three rows parallel to each other. In other words there are three poles in each row. These poles are called *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*), the word generally used for various kinds of prongs and forked sticks or poles.

Fig. 249a. Straw-hut of the *téjira* type. The wooden skeleton of the hut with the roof covered. Ayr, Iferwan.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary.

342* [284] [285]

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour.

342* 461

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:—

342*

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch.

[634]

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Ifoqas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

[684]

[Text continues on p. 356]

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*342 [168] [197] B.1.e. A tent which has only one arch. I have once seen a tent like this in a blacksmith's camp close to Agadez, and several in a camp of former Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe in Northern Ayr. As this less elaborate structure seems among these Tuareg to constitute a fixed type I shall describe its main elements and the terms used for them which differ slightly from those used in the *Kel Ferwan* group, because the Ahaggar Tuareg living in Ayr even to-day largely speak their old Ahaggar dialect:— (1) A wooden arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction; it is called *aɣeɣu* (pl. *iɣeɣan*). (2) Two horizontal cross-bars known as *éseger* (sing. *isgar*). (3) Forked sticks called *tiɣettewin* (sing. *téɣettewt*) to support the horizontal cross-bars. There are only two forked sticks for each of the two cross-bars. (4) Slender rods forming semi-arches along the longitudinal direction; these are known as *ilellewatin* (sing. *alellewa*). This very simple structure is covered with mats much like other mat tents, the mats being known collectively as *asala* (pl. *isalan*).

Two very particular types of mat tents differing greatly from the above remain to be mentioned:—

[484] B.1.f. During migrations when the members of a camp remain only one or two days on the same spot, they do not always erect mat tents. But they have to do so throughout the rainy season, when the tents are sometimes erected in a very peculiar way:— The two horizontal cross-bars are placed parallel to one another, each of them resting upon two forked sticks. The distance between the two cross-bars is about one metre, and the height of the two pairs of forked sticks is about 1.50 m. The rest of the elements constituting the normal tent structure, that is the bundles of arches and semi-arches, is not untied. The parcels made up of these elements are leaned against the horizontal cross-bars, and the whole is thereupon covered with mats. The tent erected in this way is a very small one, just big enough for the large wooden bed (*tédabut*). The tent thus erected is known as *tafala*.

B.1.g. The tent to be mentioned is known as *éhen* like the normal barrel-vaulted mat tents, but [184] it is nevertheless of beehive shape. This type of dwelling, however, is not used among the Ayr Tuareg, and I have only seen it once in the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief, where many slaves lived in small mat tents of beehive shape. The structure is made of slender, unfashioned boughs which are fixed in the ground and tied together at their tops. But the arrangement is not a fortuitous one. It would seem that these dwellings have a particular structure: two arches placed parallel to each other and four slender arches passing over the two first arches at a right angle. This structure is covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves. The tents are very low with a height of about 1.50 m, and their diameter does not exceed 2.00 m. Portable tents of beehive shape are unknown to true pastoral Tuareg.

Mat tents of arch construction are known outside the regions inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. They seem to occur throughout Southern Tuareg country, but are less common further west than among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. The great majority of the pastoral Ayr Tuareg live in mat tents, and it is not correct to speak of this type of portable dwelling as typical of the *Kel Ewey* as frequently happens in literature. As to the *Kel Geres* they claim that all pastoralists of their group have mat tents. On the occurrence of mat tents outside the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* I have gathered the following information from literature:—

A mat tent of arch construction is described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg around *Tawa*. It is called *awaɣwaɣ* or *awarwâr* (*éwerwer*) because it is covered with mats of this particular type (cf. p. 350 f.). A tent of this nature is 6–7 metres long and 4–5 metres broad. The tent has four, three,

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suitable natural boughs are abundant. There are advantages and disadvantages in mat tents as well as in skin tents. During the very hot season the mat tent is by far the best type of dwelling; it is comparatively high and the mat covering is not heated to any great extent by the sun. During the rainy season the mat tent is less practical than the skin tent. Rain may fall so heavily and abundantly that it penetrates the mat covering, and even if it does not it will be necessary to remove all mats after a heavy shower in order to dry them in the sun. The skin tent is normally erected quicker than the mat tent, it protects efficiently against rain, but is, on the other hand, most unpleasant during the hot season. It does not seem possible to explain the distribution of mat tents and skin tents on purely geographical grounds, but it seems as though the mat tent is used mainly where dum palm leaves for plaiting are available. Where the dum palm disappears, the mat tent tends to disappear also, though mat tents, as we have seen, may be provided with a covering of *ẽwerwer* type (p. 350 f.). Outside of the dum palm area most Tuareg have skin tents for portable dwellings. Within the dum palm area mat tents and skin tents are mixed in certain regions, and it has been seen that certain Tuareg use mat tents during the very hot season before the rains, but adopt skin tents when the rains start. This seem to indicate clearly the advantage and the disadvantage of the two dwelling types. But the advantages of both dwellings can be obtained in another way, namely by placing a sheet of skin over the top of the mat tent in the rainy season. This is actually done by many Tuareg. I was told that the *Kel Fadey* Tuareg around Ingal very frequently cover their mat tents with skin during the rainy season, and remove the skin again when the rains are over. It is perhaps this to which Rodd refers in a brief note on Tuareg tents in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 212), and we may be sure that the usage is a very ancient one in these regions, for it is mentioned already by Ibn Batutah in reference to the *Bardamoh*, who are stated to be nomads that frequently move their camps (cf. Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). The custom of covering mat tents with a sheet of skin has also been noted in the case of the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg by Barth (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). It is very possible that it is still more widely known in Southern Tuareg groups, as it allows in an easy way the advantages of both types of dwellings.

B.2. *Skin Tents.*

Skin tents are used by Tuareg in all groups, though there is some doubt as to the use of skin tents among the *Kel Geres*. I have myself previously stated that they have skin tents (Nicolaisen 1959, p. 118), this statement being based on information gathered in Ayr 1955. Lhote also mention that some *Kel Geres* use skin tents, while other pastoralists in this group own mat-covered tents (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 79, phot. 51 p. 80–81). But when I visited the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief in 1959 he claimed that the *Kel Geres* always live in mat tents. As to the *Kel Ayr*, skin tents are very rare among them. In all other Tuareg groups skin tents play a very important role. They constitute so to speak the only kind of portable dwellings among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Adrar*, and they form the most common type of tent also in the two groups of *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg. Zeltner says that the dividing line between skin tents and mat tents in Southern Tuareg country follows the Paris Meridian (Zeltner 1914a, p. 364), but there is in fact no true dividing line between these dwelling types, which are sometimes used by the same people at different seasons, and the two tent types are sometimes combined into one, as mat tents may be covered with skin throughout the rainy season.

*342

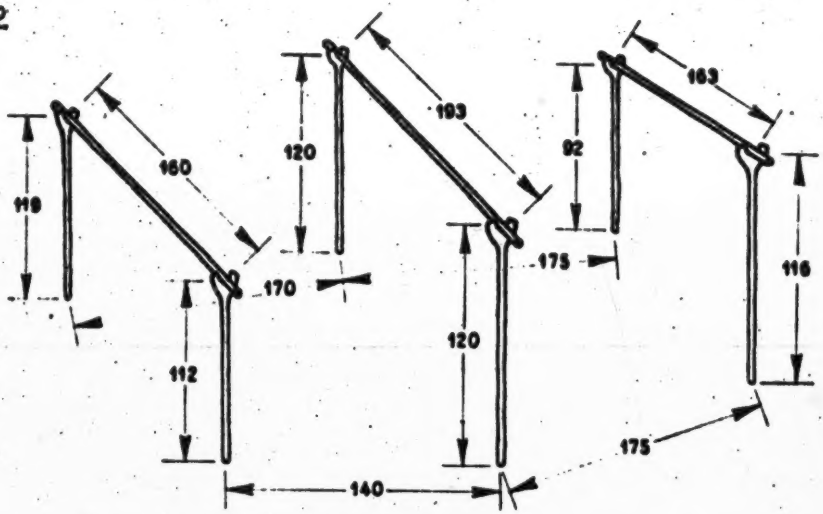


Fig. 278. The wooden structure of a skin tent of B.2.f.3 type. Measurements are in centimetres. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.

of uprights plus a cross-bar, may perhaps be explained as a support of very large tents, but I do not believe that this is the whole explanation, for I have frequently seen a structure having two middle pairs of uprights with cross-bars in very small tents, and it is remarkable that in tents of this type, whether large or small, the two middle pairs of uprights are frequently placed very close to each other.

B.2.f.5. This type occurs in Ahaggar. It is much like the above-mentioned two types, but has six pairs of parallel forked uprights with cross-bars. So many pairs of uprights with cross-bars are found only in large tents, and I have not seen such tents in tribes other than the *Dag Rali*. The two middle pairs of uprights are equally high and higher than the two next pairs which again are higher than the two outer pairs. The *Dag Rali* Tuareg say that tents with them may have yet another pair of uprights in addition to the six pairs, but this I have never seen.

B.2.g. *Skin tents with a central T-shaped post*

Under this heading I mention skin tents with a central post which carries a short horizontal cross-bar causing it to resemble a *T*. It is characteristic of this post that it is never buried in the ground, but rests upon the surface; the post is kept in upright position mainly by the weight of the suspended sheet, though in certain tents the T-shaped post is also supported by cords attached to sticks and to the short cross-bar of the post. Skin tents provided with a central T-shaped post are found in many

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*342 The sheet rested upon the cross-bar frame and upon the outer cross-bars, being fastened to poles at the back and the front; it was kept close to the ground at the narrow ends where it was fastened to small wooden pegs. The tent sheet measured about 6.00×4.00 m and had five *tarda* (cf. p. 362). The whole structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*).

B.2.g.8. The tent to be described under this heading is used among the *Kel Dennek*. It is structurally akin to the ordinary *Kel Dennek* tent mentioned above as B.2.g.6. (p. 379) but it is provided with a cross-bar frame much like that just mentioned from the *Ireǧenaten* Tuareg. The type is described by Nicolas. The central post is called *tageǯut*, and has a prong at its top to support the frame known as *agegu* made from two sticks to which are tied three other sticks, one of which rests in the prong of the central post. The stick which rests in the prong is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction of the tent, and cords are fastened to the cross-bar frame and to four sticks as customary for *Kel Dennek* tents. Nicolas says of this cross-bar frame that it is a cross-bar "de fortune" (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154 Fig. 30 f.). He does not mention this type of cross-bar in his 1938 study of Tuareg tents, and we may perhaps take this as a proof that it is not very common among the *Kel Dennek*.

One might perhaps be tempted to take these two cross-bar frames as primitive types from which other types of cross-bars have developed, the evolution thus passing from the more elaborate to the more simple type. This, however, is hardly possible. It seems difficult to conceive the framelike cross-bars as a true development from a particular type of dwelling. They are most probably a kind of emergency cross-bars used because the more general type, which is made by blacksmiths, is not available for some reason or other. The ordinary type of cross-bar is no doubt the traditional and the oldest type. I revert to this again later in this chapter in my final analysis of Tuareg tents. Here I content myself with the statement that it seems as though the evolution of T-shaped posts followed another direction. They did not originate from the structurally more elaborate cross-bar frames. It may seem remarkable that the term used for a cross-bar frame among the *Kel Dennek* (*agegu* according to Nicolas) among the Northern Tuareg (*ageǧu*) designates a tent arch (cf. p. 356, 367). This term, however, does not literally refer to "arch". It derives from the verb *ǧaǧǧ* which means to "to load" or "to be loaded" with something (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 406 ff.). – I now come to my last structural group of Tuareg skin tents. It is only represented among the Tuareg most to the south-west from where it has been recorded by Lhote:— [184]

B.2.h. *Skin tents with two central oblique posts carrying a short cross-bar*

[101] B.2.h.1. The tent is found among the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg who live in the region of Lac Faguibine. It is supported by two central oblique posts which carry a slightly curved cross-bar of which a specimen collected by Lhote is conserved in the Musée de l'homme. It has a total length of about 0.45 m, and is 0.07 m broad. It has a decorated inner side and close to the edges two thickenings in which holes are carved for the two posts (Musée de l'homme, 41.19.870; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 117). Lhote has informed me verbally that the two posts are oblique, but that they do not cross each other, and that the cross-bar is also placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction. – I revert to this type later as it contributes to our knowledge of tent development among the Tuareg.

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*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwillemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Denneк*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Ajjer* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

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My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:—

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*".

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhaṛ* (sing. *Amahaṛ*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aheṛ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amaziṛ* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aheṛ* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462).

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated

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631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[169] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Immikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iullhemmeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[173] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month; when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadey*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *ábubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only

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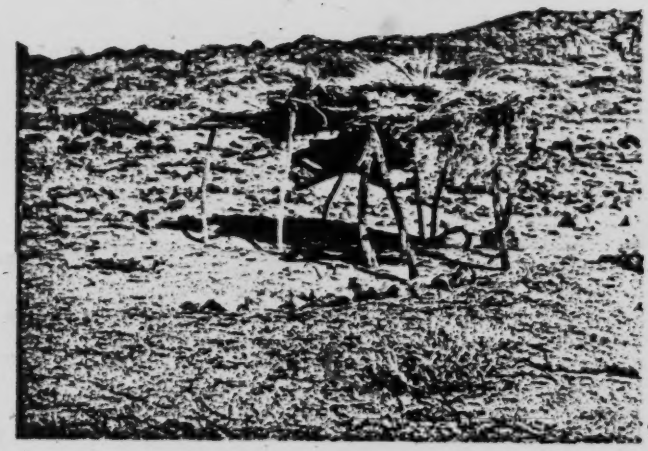

Fig. 191. Grass-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[164] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

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601 brothers, but also all children of father's female cousins and all children of mother's male counsins.

For descending generations kinship terms are different for Ego male and Ego female. Ego male will call all children of his sisters and all children of his female cousins *agg elet ma* ("sister's son") or *welt elet ma* ("sister's daughter"), while all children of his brothers and all children of his male cousins will be called *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). Descendants of persons known as *rur* (*yell*) are known as *rur* (*yell*), descendants of persons known as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*) as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*). Ego female has no "sister's children" but will call all relatives of descending generations *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). – Collectively all relatives of the second descending generation are known as *iheyawen* (sing. *ahaya*) or *tiheyawin* (sing. *tahayawt*). This term can be used for descendants of more distant generations as indicated by the tribal name *Iheyawen Hada*, that is "descendants of *Hada*".

## AYR

[604] There are at least two distinct kinship systems in Ayr, both of which differ from that described above in the case of Ahaggar.

[171] The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have a system related to that of the Hausa-speaking population of Agadez and further south. In *Kel Ewey* the terms for "brothers" and "sisters" are never used classificatorily. All parallel cousins and cross-cousins are known as *ibubazen* (sing. *abubaz*; fem. *tabubazt*), and children of all cousins are known as *tégazé*, which is used both for males and females. The *Kel Ewey*, in contrast to other Tuareg, do not make any distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins. As far as my knowledge goes all this applies only to the true *Kel Ewey* and not for such Tuareg groups as the *Kel Tamat* and the *Ikezkezen* who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey*.

The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg comes close to the system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, but the two systems are not identical. The word *anna* ("mother") is used for all female relatives of ascending generations and also for spouses of such relatives, who are called *adda* ("father"). The term for "father" (*adda*) is applied to all grandfathers whether they are patrilineally or matrilineally related to Ego, to father's brothers, and to the husbands of father's sisters and mother's sisters. It is also applied to father's father's sons but not to other male cousins of Ego's father and mother, for all other male cousins of father and mother are termed *awet ma*, the word employed for "mother's brother". Thus the term *awet ma* is used for true mother's brothers and for most male relatives of the parents' generation, while it is never used for matrilineal kinsmen of the second ascending generation. The wives of all males termed *awet ma* are known as *tamtet n awet ma* ("mother's brother's wife") and not as *anna* ("mother").

The Kel Ferwan Tuareg do not use the term *aña* (pl. *añaten*) and welet ma (pl. *tañatin*) for brothers and sisters. When they talk about brothers and sisters without reference to age they use the terms for younger brother (*amedray*, pl. *imedrayen*) and younger sister (*tamedrayt*, pl. *timedrayin*). The term for "elder brother" and "elder sister" are identical with those used in Ahaggar, namely *amekkar* and *tamekkart*. Parallel cousins are called "elder brother" ("younger brother") and "elder sister" ("younger sister") according to the same rule as in Ahaggar. Should their father or mother be older

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any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the looting part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr.

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law.

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Ifoṛas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adṛaṛ of the Ifoṛas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife.

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen.

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

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laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matrilineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an